/284 cont./

703 512 614 [537] The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours. [361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in [516] [302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or [285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where [533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 [614] We were not able to obtain any serious information on the choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuẑawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuẑawa, the

Plate VIII

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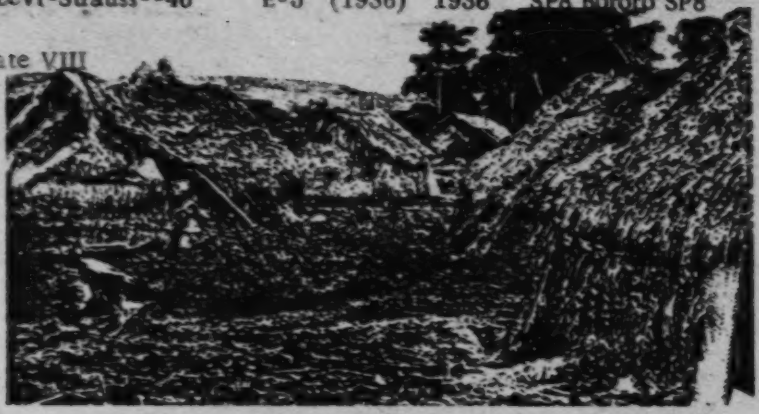
361



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C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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764

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterized by

412 237 284 415 531 534

FIGURE 32.—Bororo manufactures. a, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; b, d, pottery vessels; c, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

a narrow opening and either a pointed or a spherical bottom. Cooking pots are hemispherical. The wide and shallow dishes now seen, as well as cups with handles, are all innovations due to White influence (figs. 51, *c–h*; 52, *b*, *d*).

Weapons.—Bows and arrows, the principal weapons, vary considerably according to use and represent the acme of *Bororo* craftsmanship. The bow, averaging 6 feet 3 inches (1.9 m.) in length, may exceed 6 feet 6 inches (2 m.), is pointed at the ends, and decorated with feathers; the string is of palm fiber. Arrows, which were from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) in length, have a cane or palm-wood shaft; the heads are of bamboo or bone, and sometimes bear barbs (fig. 53, *a–e*).

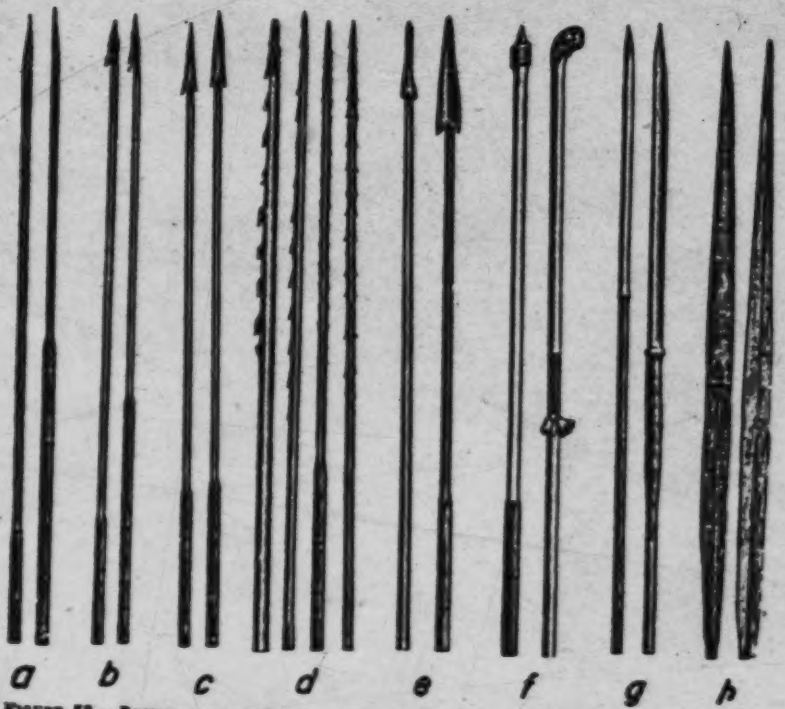

FIGURE 53.—*Bororo* arrow points. *a*, Sharpened rod foreshafts; *b*, rod foreshafts with bone barb attached; *c*, foreshafts with socketed bone point; *d*, foreshafts with lateral carved barbs; *e*, carved wooden points; *f*, foreshafts with knobbed tips for birds; *g*, war arrows with bamboo heads; *h*, large bamboo blades (⅛ natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

Common hunting arrows have a wooden foreshaft set in a cane shaft, the head (of tapir or monkey bone) being attached to the foreshaft. Arrows used for hunting jaguars have a shaft of seriba-palm wood which rests in a groove of the flat, 2-foot (0.6 m.) long bamboo point

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932 SP8 Bororo SP8
Yaruma SP25

PLATE XXI

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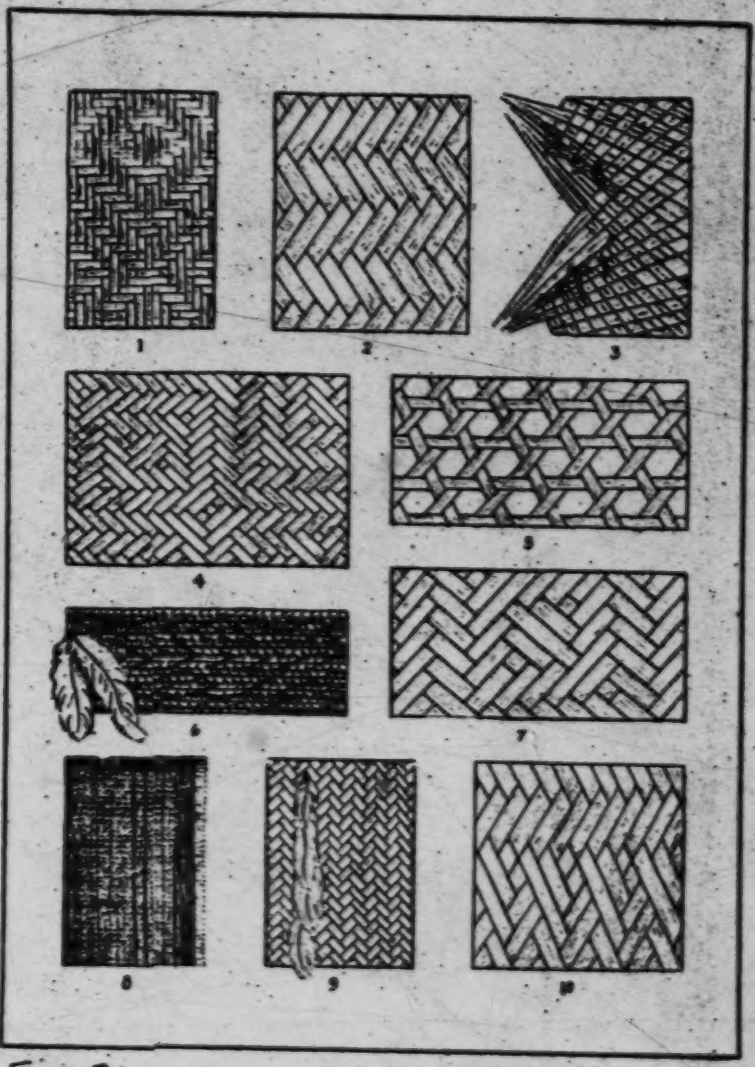

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[P. 176]

[for captions, see cat. 116, p. 88]

6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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[774
787]

61 Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

765
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[p.47-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

[facing p. 50]

342
291

BORORO HOUSE, BRAZIL

353
516
285

INTERIOR OF BORORÓ HOUSE, BRAZIL

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

342 from fruits and vegetables, besides chips and other débris
364 from weapon and ornament making. Like infants, they simply drop, wherever they happen to be, such parts of the food they are eating as they do not want.

352 There is no household furniture, as we understand it, in
[235] these primitive residences. Mats, made by braiding together the long, slender leaves of palm-branches, are spread upon the ground to serve as beds, tables, chairs, and sofas. Cala-
415 bash and gourd shells of various shapes and sizes, and large, oyster-like shells, found in the woods, are the pans, basins, bowls, bottles, cups, plates and spoons, furnished by Nature,
[323] ready for use. A few clay pots are the only vessels the
354 Bororó have which are made by their own hands. The "stove" is a light fire made by placing the ends of small
352 sticks together like spokes of a wheel. The "pantry" is a
251 little platform of sticks five feet directly above the fire, supported by four stakes, upon which is placed the food that cannot be eaten at once in order that it may be preserved by
353 the smoke. Palm-nuts are also heaped up here. Stuck around in the roof and hanging from it, are seen the primitive weapons of war and of the chase, such as bows and various kinds of spear-like arrows, fishing gear, several kinds of small, home-made baskets, feather and bone ornaments, charms, and ceremonial paraphernalia. The primitive house-
252 keeper is seen squatting or kneeling, engaged in the preparation of some insipid broth in a clay pot over the little fire, or else splitting goose-egg cocoanuts and pulverizing the meats in a rude mortar with which to make a kind of bread. The
462 head of the household kneels, or sits cross-legged, on a palm-
352 leaf mat occupied in making bows and arrows or ornaments,
516 or repairing fishing-tackle; or else lying full-length on his
857 mat with a five-inch pole for a pillow, on which the neck rests, and nibbling a bit of jungle food; while the children are seen, either assisting the mother in her culinary operations, or amusing themselves in a quiet way just outside the hut.
000 Not a patch of "dry goods" has ever entered this human

B /279 cont./
285 mention, nor the surrounding figures, nor the construction of
532 twigs made this likely. All doubts vanished, however, when the Indian showed us, inside two squares, which were otherwise made up merely of crosswise twigs, several narrow, and in themselves quite meaningless, stretches of plaiting on which was wound a
B little yellow straw, and then explained: "capybara teeth." In
[237] other words, teeth of Hydrachoerus capybara or water hog, the
[136] large rodent characterized by huge incisors, the chisel of the
[412] natives. One had to admit that the outlines were roughly similar, but no European would have hit upon this correct inter-
B pretation by himself. Finally, we saw in the artists' hut of the
* [171] Auetó a plaited strip which they designated for us as "fish bones." It was the same figure as No. 5, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

Y I would have referred to these examples earlier, along with
285 the drawings, and not here if they had not been connected with
524 peculiarly plaited figures or dolls which we found among the
532 Nahuquá. Of the two illustrations 65 and 66 /see p. 315/, the one is easily understandable and suitable for a kindergarten, it represents a /280/ toad; the other, however, I, at any rate, would not have interpreted correctly even if I had thought about it for a year. We have to recognize it as a deer! And actually it is quite simple. First I need to start out that it is an animal; then the sharply protruding corner piece /Figs. 65-67 appear here/ to the right must be the head, and thus I have a four-footed animal, whereas I do not pay any attention to the three peaks on the back, since a Nahuquá is not familiar with a dromedary or a camel, to say nothing of an animal with three elevations on its back. It must, moreover, be a type of quadruped for which the tail, since it is missing, is not characteristic. What I see in the way of feet, however, corresponds most closely to the hoofs of the deer. Thus, I come slowly limping along behind the Nahuquá with my conclusions, while the Indian of another tribe, after brief reflection, finds the correct solution by himself.

BO Inasmuch as I considered the Bororó in connection with
● 285 the drawings, their analogous Froebel toy might be taken up in
524 this connection. The folded piece of palm leaf, Fig. 67 left
532 /see p. 315/ represents a "Bororó woman," that is to say, it is

/280 cont./

BO 285 524 532

nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

B 285 532 535

B 524 202

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

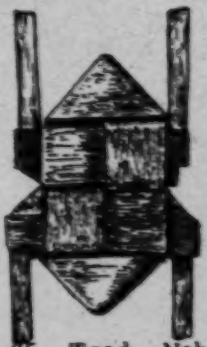


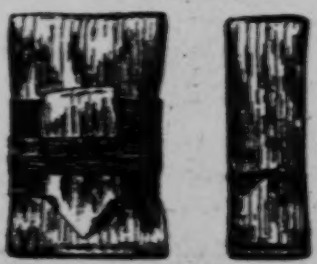
Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Y 285 524 532

hut as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated; they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B 524



The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village

BO 285 524 532

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

285 [765] → [142 301 302] ←

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centimeters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

[462]

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*perikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodákwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yathabótko*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
[283] using the spindle (*kálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
727 attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomiskána*) and grandmother (*imakomiskáto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyáko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

286

286 WOVEN FABRICS--textiles; weaving, knitting, and netting techniques; special apparatus (e.g., netting needle, loom); products and their uses; specialized personnel and organization; etc. See also:

Clothing	29	Industrial production of textiles	338
Spinning	283	Description of power looms	402

6:Kosák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

411
302
768
516
285
142

Ornate bow, decorated with feathers, is given to outstanding hunter by the relatives of deceased. Hunter must use bow to avenge death by killing jaguar.

[p. 42-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

765
531
292
285
516

MULTICOLORED feathers, held on with resin, completely cover skull, which is surmounted by feather crown. Still on its mat, skull is put on jaguar skin.

[p. 47-C]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, [283] and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never ob- [345] served spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only [283] two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and [286] various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans 779 bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Cera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

531
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415

FIGURE 81.—Bororo textiles and pottery. a, b, Bags with weave and designs the same as mats; c, d, water jars (1/7 to 1/11 natural size); e, ladle (1/6 natural size); f, plate (1/6 natural size); g, bowl (1/6 to 1/17 natural size); h, cup (1/6 natural size). (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

/141 cont./

462 Finally, we were wrong when we believed that the light tasks, such as plaiting, spinning, and weaving were everywhere the duty of the women.

[289] Among the Bororo and Tereno, the man spins and
[171] weaves; among the Karajá /Caraja/ and Tapirapé, the plaiting is masculine work.

462 In the following list I demonstrate the division of
128 labor of the sexes among eight different tribes that I visited. One question mark indicates that the job is done or was done formerly in the tribe in question, but that I did not find out to which sex it was attributed. The signs in the rubrics of the Kaingang refer to the modern-day Kaingang of Palmas; some tasks designated there by means of a transverse stroke as not extant were undoubtedly formerly in use.

[Chart "Division of Labor" will be found on p. 27]

/143/

833 How much the sexual life is related to the social
562 position of the sexes among the Bororo was demonstrated to
123 me by the following statement by Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri. I having asked in which way the sexes place themselves for coitus, he told me that the man and the woman, for that purpose, always lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. Later he asked me how the whites customarily behave in this matter, and I told him that, as far as I knew about these things, among us the man would lie on top of the woman, but sometimes the opposite would happen. The intelligent Indian became visibly revolted. "What an insult against the one who is under-
[775] neath!" he exclaimed. I looked at him surprised, and he

[Text Continued on Page 28]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of a jaguar in a battle of this kind. 224

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal 226 method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which [286] is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above [526] the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads
[301] crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for
517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking;
[332] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[23] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kothodákwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yathabátho*) is used for storing
● [286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for
[283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*hálalu*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipohápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had
[623] a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipéna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When attacking they killed the men but sometimes
[301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to
[266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishána*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[P. 107 (B)]